

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011
DRAFTED BY S/S:PSEBASTIAN:BABS
APPROVED BY S/S:PSEBASTIAN
-----060048Z 029892 /62
O 052338Z MAY 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 103060 TOSEC 040016

NODIS
WHITE HOUSE - FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOL RPT PARIS 13311 ACTION SECSTATE 5 MAY 77 QUOTE

S E C R E T PARIS 13311

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, US, VN
SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL TRANSCRIPTION FROM US-VN TALKS ON
MORNING OF MAY 4, 1977

1. PHAN HIEN: I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS TO ASK YOU. IF THE
PRESS MEN ASK YOU ABOUT THE SRV - STATED THAT VIEW THAT
THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HEALING OF WAR WOUNDS AND
POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, SO HOW WOULD BE YOUR
ANSWER?

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HOLBROOKE: WHAT IS THE QUESTION NOW?

2. PHAN HIEN: AND THEY ASK WHAT WAS THE US DELEGATION'S
ATTITUDE ABOUT THAT AND HOW DO YOU ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: I HAVE TO ASK YOU ONCE MORE TO REPEAT THE

QUESTION SO I UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT IT IS.

3. PHAN HIEN: MAY I REPEAT. IF THE PRESS MEN ASK YOU THAT DURING THE TALKS THE VIETNAMESE SIDE STATED THEIR VIEW THAT THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HEALING THE WAR WOUNDS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, WHAT WAS THE AMERICANS ATTITUDE. HOW WAS IT AND WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER TO SUCH A QUESTION?

HOLBROOKE: WE WOULD REPLY THAT WE EXPLAINED TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF VIETNAM THAT UNDER CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, WE WERE UNABLE TO PROVIDE DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

4. PHAN HIEN: I AM AFRAID THAT IF YOU ANSWER WILL BE AS SUCH THAT WILL PROVOKE SOMETHING IN HANOI.

HOLBROOKE: WHAT WOULD YOU SUGGEST I ANSWER MR. MINISTER?

5. PHAN HIEN: THIS IS AN YAQFRXKD QUESTION WHICH WILL HAVE IMPACT ON THE COMMON ATMOSPHERE AND ... IN VIETNAM.

HOLBROOKE: LET US RESPOND AS FOLLOWS TO THAT QUESTION IF ASKED. WE EXPLAINED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND HIS DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD IN ALL - TO MOVE FORWARD IN OUR RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. WE EXPLAINED THE CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION AGAINST AID AND POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS INDICATED ... I SEE THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE

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TRYING TO GET ACROSS AND I AM LOOKING FOR THE EXACT WORDS TO HELP US ACCOMPLISH THE OBJECTIVE WE ARE SEEKING.

"WE EXPLAINED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND CURRENT AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION AGAINST AID. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD STATED THAT HE WOULD RESPOND WELL IF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC AND TRADE RELATIONS EVOLVED SATISFACTORILY. WE TOOK NOTE OF THE VIETNAMESE SIDE'S POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. WE DO NOT WISH TO GO INTO ANY FURTHER DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSION."

6. PHAN HIEN: ALL RIGHT. AND THE SECOND QUESTION. IF THE PRESS ASK YOU WHETHER OR NOT THE US PROPOSE TO ESTABLISH IMMEDIATELY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM AND WHAT WAS THE VIETNAM ATTITUDE. IF THE PRESS MEN ASK YOU SO, WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: I WOULD RESPOND OR MR. SMITH WOULD RESPOND:

"YES, WE DID OFFER TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WE BELIEVE THE VIETNAMESE SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AS TO THEIR POSITION." AND IN GENERAL MR. MINISTER, I DO NOT THINK THAT OUR SIDE SHOULD TELL THE PRESS WHAT THE VIETNAMESE SAID TO US IN A PRESS CONFERENCE. THAT IS IMPROPER PROCEDURE AND WE WILL NOT EXPLAIN YOUR POSITION TO THE PRESS.

7. PHAN HIEN: IF I AM ASKED BY THE PRESS MEN OR ANY OTHER GENTLEMEN SUCH AS THE PRESS OFFICER HERE IS ASKED THAT QUESTION BY THE PRESS MEN, WE WILL SAY THAT POINT 3 OF OUR 3-POINT POSITION MENTIONS ALREADY THE NORMALIZATION OF THE RELATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT WAS ONE OF THE 3 POINTS IN OUR POSITION AND WE (BOTH SIDES) WERE UNANIMOUS ON THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF EARLY NORMALIZATION

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OF RELATIONS PAUSE ... AND THEN I WOULD ADD NOTHING.

HOLBROOKE: MAY I ASK A POINT OF INFORMATION - NOT FOR THE PRESS BUT FOR US. WHEN YOU TALK OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, ARE YOU AND WE TALKING OF ESTABLISHING OF EMBASSIES - ARE WE TALKING ABOUT THE SAME THING? DOES NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS MEAN TO YOU ESTABLISHMENT OF EMBASSIES?

8. PHAN HIEN: FOR US WHEN ONE SAY THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, THAT MEANS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. THE EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS IS A TECHNICAL MATTER THAT WILL FOLLOW THE OTHER PROBLEM, THAT IS TO SAY THAT WOULD FOLLOW THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

HOLBROOKE: TO ME NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS - TO ME EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS IS PART OF THE PROCESS - NOT SOMETHING THAT COMES AFTERWARDS.

9. PHAN HIEN: AS A MATTER OF FACT, AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WE HAVE TO SELECT PEOPLE AS AMBASSADORS, WE HAVE TO ASK FOR AGREEMENT AND HAVE AGREEMENT ACCEPTED AND THEN TO HAVE A BUILDING - OFFICE FOR EMBASSY AND SEND HIM FOR CREDENTIAL PRESENTATION. THAT IS TO SAY IN ANY WAY IT SHOULD FOLLOW ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND THAT IS A MATTER OF COURSE.

LIZ VERVILLE: (ASIDE TO HOLBROOKE) IT SHOULD FOLLOW AS

THE NIGHT, THE DAY. (THIS WAS NOT TRANSLATED)

HOLBROOKE: THAT EXCHANGE WAS JUST FOR US IN THIS ROOM
AND NOT FOR THE PRESS.

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10. PHAN HIEN: IN THE FUTURE WHEN WE GO DEEP INTO DETAILS
TO DISCUSS COMPLETELY THESE THINGS.

HOLBROOKE: ABSOLUTELY, I AGREE. I ONLY RAISED IT
BECAUSE I WANT TO MAKE SURE WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER AND
I THINK WE DO.

11. PHAN HIEN: AND THE LAST THING. I AGREE THAT THE TWO
SIDES WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE BUT THE TWO SIDES WILL
NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO SPEAK ABOUT BACKGROUND. AND FROM
NOW UNTIL THE NEXT MEETING LET US MAKE OUR EFFORTS SO
THAT THERE WILL NOT BE ANYTHING IN THE PRESS WHICH WILL
BE REGRETTABLE. IF THERE IS ANYTHING THAT YOU WANT TO
COMMUNICATE TO US WE AGREE YOU CAN COMMUNICATE TO US
BY MR. PRATT CONCERNING MATTERS OF PRESS -- OPINIONS OF
THE PRESS. IF THERE IS ANY REPRESENTATIVE OR ANY MEMBER
OF CONGRESS SPEAKING ANYTHING, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

HOLBROOKE: LET ME BE CLEAR ON HOW THE AMERICAN PRESS
WORKS. ONCE OUR MEETINGS ARE FINISHED, THE REPORTERS
IN WASHINGTON WILL TALK TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OFF THE
RECORD. NOW THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WERE NOT IN THE
ROOM AND THEY DON'T REALLY KNOW WHAT HAPPENED. THEY
HAVE MANY IDEAS. A LOT OF THE REPORTERS WILL WRITE
THINGS WHICH WILL REFLECT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BUT THERE
WILL BE NO NAME ATTACHED. THOSE WILL NOT BE AUTHORITA-
TIVE. THIS HAPPENS ALL THE TIME. I SAY TO YOU WHAT THE
SECRETARY OF STATE SAID RECENTLY TO THE AMBASSADOR OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BEFORE HE LEFT FOR
MOSCOW. HE SAID "DON'T BELIEVE WHAT YOU READ IN THE
PRESS ABOUT WHAT WE DID. WAIT UNTIL I SEE YOU AGAIN AND
I WILL TELL YOU WHAT OUR POSITION IS." MAY I ASK YOU A
QUESTION MR. MINISTER? WILL YOUR SPOKESMAN BE ABLE TO
SAY TO THE PRESS AS YOU HAVE SAID TO US TODAY - AND IT
AIS A VERY HELPFUL AND IMPORTANT STATEMENT - THAT VIETNAM
HAS NEVER ASKED FOR WAR REPARATIONS FROM THE UNITED

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STATES? I RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE MADE SIMILAR STATE-

MENTS IN THE PAST BUT NOT WITH AS MUCH PRESS ATTENTION
UPON YOU AND IF YOU WERE ABLE TO REPEAT THAT TODAY, I
THINK IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL.

12. PHAN HIEN: WHEN SPEAKING OF US CONTRIBUTION TO HEAL-
ING OF WAR WOUNDS IN VIETNAM AND POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION
IN VIETNAM, WE MAY SAY, AS YOU HAVE PROPOSED, THAT
VIETNAM HAS NEVER USED THE WORD WAR REPARATION, IS THAT
RIGHT?

HOLBROOKE: YES.

13. PHAN HIEN: SO ALL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED THEN.

HOLBROOKE: I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY.
I THINK WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS AND I HOPE THE NEXT
TIME WE MEET, WE WILL CONTINUE THE PROGRESS.

14. PHAN HIEN: I ALSO BELIEVE SO.

HOLBROOKE: I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT THE
STRONG DESIRE OF THE PRESIDENT TO MOVE FORWARD
AND A FRANK EXPLANATION OF THE SITUATION AS WE SEE IT
BOTH IN TERMS OF TECHNICAL ISSUE AND POLITICAL ISSUE.

15. PHAN HIEN: I WISH TO ASK YOU TO CONVEY OUR POSITION
TO PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER. WE ALSO APPRECIATE THE
EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND MAY I ASK YOU TO CONVEY
OUR GREETINGS TO CYRUS VANCE, SECRETARY OF STATE; MR.
HARRIMAN, AN OLD FRIEND AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSON-
ALITIES AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT I HAVE HAD THE
CHANCE TO ACQUAINT. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ASK FOR MR.
WOODCOCK, MR. MANSFIELD, MR. YOST, MRS. EDELMAN,
MR. (BLANK) AND THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED THEM AND WHO ARE
ABSENT TODAY.

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HOLBROOKE: I WILL DO SO WITH PLEASURE.

16. PHAN HIEN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
GAMMON

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, TOSEC, CAT-B, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 05-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE103060
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PSEBASTIAN:BABS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770003-0206
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770588/aaaacydu.tel
Line Count: 272
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3cd48a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2623790
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ADDITIONAL TRANSCRIPTION FROM US-VN TALKS ON MORNING OF MAY 4, 1977
TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, EAID, VN, US, (HOLBROOKE, RICHARD), (PHAN HIEN)
To: SECRETARY WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3cd48a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009